

/77 cont./

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144

Suryāna, and Íde-masā are lighter (16).

16. The hair, too, corresponding to the pigment, becomes less dark. In a Suryāna adolescent from Acuaricuara, it was as reddish as the beard of one of the Hollandish Missionaries who was evangelizing them.

184
171

The Íde-masā, Bará, and Kubêwāna exhibit the handsomest types.

*192

b. By the cultural elements (work and industry).

[322]
• [531]

The Tukano are the manufacturers of the banquinhos /small benches, footstools/, which they decorate with their characteristic paintings. And many times the lines of the bench appear on their objects as a decorative element, for example, the curve on the cigar case and on the handle of the oar.

[285]
[531]

The Desana are specialists in making panniers and mats; also with colorful ornamentation in original motifs.

[501]
[439]

The Tuyuka were the first manufacturers of canoes, selling them later to those of other tribes, who today are beginning to imitate them, without, however, surpassing them.

[278]
[411]

The Makú are the region's exclusive manufacturers of the handsome panniers of cipo, "aturá" type, of curare (poison for the arrows), and of the original weapon, which is the sarabatana /blowgun/, products that they later deliver to those of other tribes, when they serve them as slaves.

[501]

The Baniwa or Arwake of the Içana manufacture, with exclusiveness, the grater and are likewise excellent canoeists.

[226]

/78/ While the cacurí, as a fishing process, is general to all the tribes, the Pirā-tapuya have characteristic baskets for fishing, and sieves with their designs.

[301]

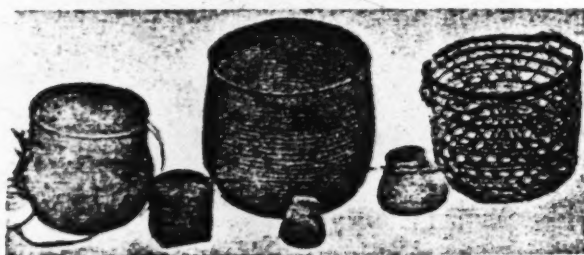
As for the ornaments for the dances, originally only the Tukano group used the acangatara and the ornamental stone at the neck (VII-3, d). The yay-gō (stick of the onça, VII-3, c.(3)) and the cipo shield (VI-2, e), which they use at the feasts, at the time of drinking the kaxpí (VI-4, i (3)), come from the Desāna (cf. Koch G., Zwei Jahre, 218).

/Illustrations facing p. 160 in the original source./

*192
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[531]



1. Sieves (baxti) with the characteristic designs.
2. Different types of large baskets (aturás, pyi, and sarreiro, térê-pi, the one with wide meshes) and small ones (pyi-kamō).
3. Preparing the "rede-batida" /beaten hammock/.
4. Rough-hewing to prepare the oar.



284
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→



/Illustrations facing p. 161 in the original source./

Fan (wērf-rō), urupema (sūō), cumatá (tō-pa) Stone axes (ōxtā-komé)

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*192
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→



*192
412
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*192
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• 531
→



Tipiti (wāx-tf-kē-ō)

Sieves (baxti)

/168/

25) Artistic ability and taste.

342 We have mentioned the Indian's skill in the execution of his traditional works. Furthermore, he has artistic taste, as we shall see later (VII - 3). His maloca is a fine work of engineering and art. Harmonious and imposing in its proportions, and with a perfect joining of the beams, it is solidly planted on the ground, defying the storms, with posts of hard wood, all quite regular and admirably aligned.

*192 The yuxta-seri, or bands woven of tucum (in Nheengatú,
286 tapacúras), which the women wear below the knee in order
301 to thicken the legs or as ornaments during dances, are perfect works.

• 531 The paintings on the stools and the designs with straw of different colors in the baskets and sieves are perfect and pleasant.

*192 The yaxkẽ-waxsóro or cache-sexe (small apron of beads
291 strung on threads of tucum), which the women wear in front when they dance, shows patience, skill, and good taste.

177 The new generation, both of the female and male sex,
291 which has passed through the Mission schools, has learned how to make their clothes; and /169/ they complete them with sufficient taste and trying to follow the fashion that they saw among the civilized of the Rio Negro. Even the boys like to sew and embroider (1).

532 They show a bent for drawing; and they not only draw on the ground, but represent in notebooks what they have seen: animal, objects, school buildings, etc. In the interests of truth, it must be pointed out that, because of their inconstancy, none of them up to now has gone on to perfect himself in drawing.

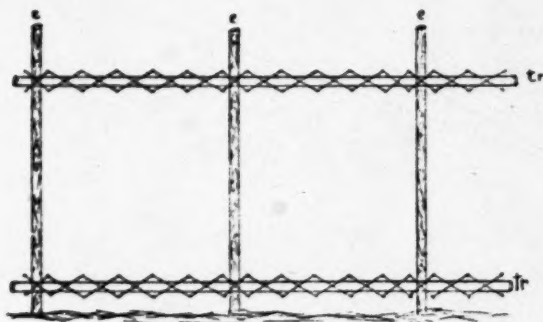
822 Among the colors, they prefer red and blue, combining this last color with white. And they love very bright colors.

/172 cont./

342

cortex, beat it quite hard with a stick along the bark, in order for the latter to come loose. Following that, they make a longitudinal cut in it, and with a small spatula go to separating the bark, which might be a meter or more in width, from the trunk. They transport the bark home, and in order that it not roll up, they pile one piece on top of another, well stretched, with a weight on top.

To make the walls, a crossbar /Port. travessa/ (tr) is placed horizontally a span from the ground, and another one higher up, above, parallelly, at an interval of a meter or more, quite firmly tied with cipo to posts /Port. estacas/ (e). To these crossbars or straight pieces are applied vertically the planks of bark, already quite dry, and on them are placed new straight pieces, parallel to the first ones, in order to hold the bark. Afterwards one Indian from the outside and another from the inside make four holes and, with cipo, they sew /173/ the pieces of bark to



the straight pieces, there sometimes resulting from this stitching an X with quite a bit of regularity and symmetry around the crossbars.

[531]

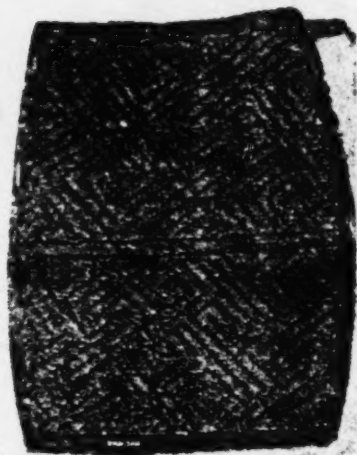
Upon these pieces of bark are frequently found paintings, the latex of the sorva serving as paint, with clay of different colors.

4: Silva--258 M-4,5 (1947-1958) 1962 SQ19 Tucano SQ19

/Illustrations facing p. 176 in the original source./

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Grater

(One is seeing the small stones
incrusted in a regular design.)

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View of the Uaupés during the period of low tide and
a canoe filled with baskets for trading with other tribes



/186 cont./

*⁴¹⁵[192] 3) Grater. In Tukano it is called soxkō-rō (Uaupés soxkō-nō) and in Nheengatú wiwisé. It is a specialty of the Baniva Indians of the Içana River (see IV -- 1, b), where the quartzite used in the grater exists in an igarapé near the cachoeira of Tunuf.

We have seen on the Içana that the preparation of the plank falls to the man, the incrustation of the small stones being executed ordinarily by the women.

As an object that is of prime necessity, it is found in all the malocas and huts, even in regions very remote from the Içana, acquired by barter from the Baniva.

*[192] It is generally made out of marupá (simaruba amara, Aubl.), white and light wood, whose fibers tend to return to the original position when they are made to deviate. In Tukano it is called precisely soxkō-gō, that is, grater wood. It consists of a plank of 60 to 100 and 120 centimeters in length, and 40 to 50 in width by 2 to 4 in thickness, and somewhat curved. They start by executing on the concave face the desired or, rather, traditional design, which facilitates the grating operation (21).

*[192] 21. There is a design pattern called precisely soxkō-rō óori, flowers of the grater.

*[192] like a small groove. Afterwards, with a point (today they use a nail) and following the lines of the design, they open a small orifice. Before the fibers of the wood return to their natural position, they set in small stones of flint in the shape of a tooth, in such a way that a chip measuring half a centimeter emerges. The small stones are better stabilized with the latex from the sorva, spread with a brush of fibers from the banana tree, whose tannin gives more consistency to the latex. The stones are set at a distance of one centimeter apart and occupy the central part of the plank, leaving small side margins, a lower margin of 15 to 20 centimeters and another upper one, or head of the grater, soxkō-rō dōxpoá, of about 30 centimeters, this last one having a projection in the manner of a handle. This handle is used, however, only to hang up the grater.

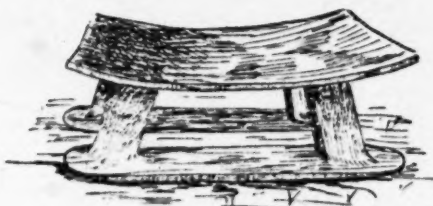
/186 cont./

415 The woman, as she grates, will do it with the two hands
252 alternately, and not in a uniform rhythm, but with sudden pulls
that cause movement of her very breasts. She will be seated on
the ground, having between /187/ her legs the grater, the head
[462] of which they support against the stomach. It is exclusively
women's work.

The grater is such an useful object that on the lower Rio Negro
the civilized adopted it as well as the tipití (VI -- 2, d (1)).

A 192 4) Seat. The seat, in Tukano kū-mū-rō (Uaupés kūmū-no),
352 is in general use, although its specialized producers are the
Tukano. It is generally made out of sorva or arara-seringa (Cóuma
gulanensis, Muell.), a not very heavy wood which hardly cracks.

They formerly made it with the help of their primitive adze.
Today, instead of the syó-a, they use a digging iron or even an
adze obtained from the civilized.



Little monoxylic seat (ku-mū-rō)

The dimensions are the most varied, some of only 30 to 40
centimeters and others of 120 to 150 centimeters. The style,
however, is constant, to wit, the seating place is concave, with
a double curvature in the longitudinal and transverse directions.
It is always low, only 10 to 15 centimeters in height, with four
legs connected by two longitudinal crossbars. And the seat, with
the supports, is monoxylic, that is, made from one piece of wood.

They are accustomed to decorating the seat with the tradi-
tional designs, and over it something like a varnish, obtained
from the sap of the bark of a wild inga tree, mē'rē (Uaupés
mē'nē).

[531]
[824]

797
177
174
286

/191 cont./

/footnote 26 cont./ "rede-batida," but, by the same process, to make rugs, tablecloths, napkins, bags, and other artifacts to suit modern taste.

*192
286
352

/192/ pũ-pát-tuse nextõ-rĩ, consisting of four rounded sticks connected in a rectangle. Each of their vertical staffs (warp) has two holes through which the horizontal ones pass. The holes are purposely very large, so that with a suitable wedge the distance with regard to the horizontal staffs can be varied and thus hammocks of different lengths obtained.

The warp is made in the vertical direction (around the horizontal crossbars, the separation of which marks the length of the hammock), some turns going around with quite a long thread. The vertical crossbars of the loom determine the width of the hammock.

In between the vertical threads the woman starts developing the woof, a small stick with the rolled thread serving as a shuttle, wa'mẽ-kõ dõxká, and beating with a straightedge, pát-turi-phĩ, in order to join the meshes well. The result is a true fabric of quite tight meshes, and the more elegant and comfortable the hammocks, the finer the thread.

They complete the elegance with a "veranda," pũ-ghõ so'mũ-tõrĩ or pát-tuke-wári, or a side fringe of varied form, as macramé is made.

The veranda is prepared by stretching a thread of a size corresponding to that of the hammock. Along this thread are tied with knots the tucum fibers folded in half. With these variously colored fibers, the woman spins, without the help of bobbins, but only with the fingers, a somewhat wide lace "ponto" /stitch/, until she obtains a trimming /193/ of some 10 or 15 centimeters, and she afterwards tears the ends with the ourico /prickly part/ of the piquiá. They not only use fibers of different colors, but they even attach to them nowadays beautiful and colorful feathers of birds, in conformity with the taste of the caboclos of the Rio Negro.

[237]
[531]

/194 cont./

286

• 531

In woven work as well as in plaited work they combine elements of various colors, producing very regular and pleasant designs. Due to their regularity and finish, some of their work almost reaches perfection.

*192

d) Basketry and plaited work.

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[462]

[342]

[227]

For their basketry -- and all this work is executed by men -- the raw material is more varied. They use embira or the liber of some trees, especially that which they call pi'i-karō-gō. They use palms, with a simple plaiting of the leaflets, on the walls of the homes and, more rarely, also on the ceilings. They use strips of paxiúba (waxtá), patauá (yumŋ), and jacitára (wai-tu, a palm of sarmentose and aerial caulis) for mats (i'mf-sa) and fish enclosures (sũxteri-ka). It is with the uambé cipo (m'af) that they manufacture the baskets called aturás and the nassas for fishing. But it is especially the arumŋ (wōhō), reduced to strips (wōhō-phf), that they use the most, because with them they prepare baskets, sieves, and the tipití /manioc press/.

[824]

The arumŋ (Schinosisphon /Ischnosisphon/ ovatus, Kkes., of the family of the Marantaceae) is a plant of "terra firma," but humid, with wide leaves, /195/ the stalk of which may exceed two meters. From it are separated strips, which, after being dried, acquire the yellowish color of our chair cane. When they want to execute their designs, the natives dye the little straws with their vegetable dyes. Sometimes they are colored on only one side, for example, for the designs on the inside of the sieves.

[386]
[531]

According to the purpose, the width of the meshes and the shape will vary.

For the plaiting, they make the straws quite even; they put them in good order on the ground (or on a mat), and, squatting, steadying them with the feet, they begin to plait with transverse colored or uncolored splints, according to the designs that they intend to make.

/195 cont./

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* [192] If it is a matter of a sieve or basket, they finish with three or four turns with the cipo, by way of a hoop (be'tô), on which they tie the ends of the plaiting and later trim the tips of the straws or the strips.

285
• 531 The basketry of these tribes is one of the richest-known. Using a more or less flexible material, they combine the plaited and the twined in several technical processes, with wide or closed spaces, and warps and woofs in various directions, in such a way that an amazing variety of patterns results. As a further demonstration of their ability, they interpose colored strips, from which appear the fanciful Greek frets /Port. gregas/ that characterize their designs. And, with such richness of imagination and technique, they make objects of varied size and shape, according to their purposes.

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* [192] Baskets and sieves are made by all the tribes, but the specialists are the Desana.

1) Tipitf. The tipitf, in Tucano wāx-tf-kē-ō, is the press of the Indian. It consists of a cylinder or tube, which the men weave most commonly with arumā straw, with a very tight mesh. It measures 1.50 and even 2 meters in length, and barely 10 centimeters in diameter. The upper end, wāx-tf-kē-ō dōxpo-á (head of the tipitf), is open and terminates in a handle, by which the tipitf is hung on one of the supports of the house. The other end is closed and also terminates in a handle, wāx-tf-kē-ō bé'tô (ring of the tipitf). With the proper movement of the hands, the tipitf is reduced to a shorter length, which has the effect of increasing the diameter, and through the mouth thus enlarged is introduced the mass of the grated mandioca (cf. VI - 4, a).

2) Sieves. They are used to strain the mass of mandioca, to sift the flour, etc., and are woven out of arumā straw.

The width of the meshes, dimensions, and shape will vary according to the use for which the sieve is intended. One finds some shallow, like our common sieves, and others deeper.

M /200 cont./

411 or Cēiba petândra, Gartn.), with the double role of plugging the orifice, and thus offering resistance to the blowing, and also to give weight to the end of the dart and not permit it to swerve in the air. With a short and strong puff they manage to propel the dart 20 or more meters with great precision, especially in the vertical direction. It is a very useful weapon, because it is easy and quick in handling, and, besides, the dart does not make any noise, and thus they manage to kill a bird in the top of the trees, without making the ones that are close to it fly away.

M
[224]

It is a weapon for the minor hunting of birds, monkeys, etc.

T
411

T
[237]
[824]

4) Arrows. They are usually made out of paxiúba (Eriártea settigera, Mart.), and with the help of a string and pitch the point is firmly fitted to it. The form and sustance will vary according to its purpose. There are points of paxiúba, bamboo, the teeth of jaguar or /201/ of fish, and thorns of patauá (30).

T
[184]

30. Those of paxiúba, used by the Indians of the Caburí River, are equipped with three or four artificial knots, in order for them to break and remain buried in the body. They ordinarily exhibit beautiful and colorful feathering.

T
[177]

From the civilized they obtain nails or pieces of iron, from which now come the metallic points.

T
• [531]

Some arrows are decorated with toucan and arara feathers. The feathering is found in a row /Port. cavalete/ or in a spiral.

T
[224]

When they are intended for hunting or fishing, they are often poisoned with curare (31).

31. The poison is neutralized by the fire, when the food is prepared, or by the kitchen salt, which should be administered to anyone poisoned by the "curare."

They place the poison a few millimeters below the point, in order that a casual scratch will not poison some person.

/211 cont./

* 291
[192]
[178]
[535]
[531]
* [192]

of the women, called in Nheengatú muruarí, it is similar to a small apron of about 20 centimeters in length by 10 centimeters in width. Nowadays it is only a dance ornament which the women exhibit together with the painting; or they are even without it and only painted. With the jewelry that they have obtained from the civilized, they prepare very beautiful yaxkẽ waxsó-ro. Even the original ones, woven out of tucum, were outstanding works of weaving. The one and the other, however, seem to be a "dress of attraction" rather than a "dress of decency," because they remain hanging at the waist and, due to the position and dimensions (the largest dimension is horizontally), do not cover enough (cf. VII -- 5, b).

b) Shoes.

They do not manufacture or use shoes of any kind, as is the custom of the Indians of the savannas. They are unnecessary for their long trips, which are made by canoe, and are inconvenient for the excursions in the forest, if they are not made out of a resistant material, such as leather, and well fitted. Besides, the warm climate and the continuous rains would render their use harmful to the health.

4) Alimentation.

a) Mandioca.

* 192
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262

The Indian obtains from the mandioca (Mãnhot utilíssima) his principal food, preparing it in different ways, and he uses it every /212/ day of the year. There are recollections of a very remote period (centuries or millennia before the historical period, which is the sixteenth century) when they did not know mandioca, and they ate the chestnut /Port. castanha, any of several trees having edible nuts/ called boxpé (information of Dorotéia Brito).

4: Silva--376 M-4, 5 (1947-1958) 1962 SQ19 Tucano SQ19
Macu SQ10

T

* 192

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278

/Illustrations facing p. 257 in the original source./

Quiver of arrows (busá-sa), arrows
for the sarabatana, and pot contain-
ing curare



M

142

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291

411

415



M

* [192]



Preparation of the curare
(nimá) by a Maku Indian

/292 cont./

In the Yaxkē

286 Waxô-ro there is a beautiful combination of the woven and the
531 strung, using colorful glass beads. One admires in it a pleasing
combination of colors, proportion and regularity in the design,
and a perfect finishing of the piece. In the woven part the mesh
is diagonal. It also presents a combination of colored fibers for
the design effect. In the choice of colors, as well as in the finish-
ing, there is revealed good /293/ taste, which makes this weav-
ing a beautiful adornment for the women in the dances. With
beads or with colored fibers, the designs are the Greek frets /Port.
gregas/ characteristic of these tribes.

6) /sic: b)/ Designs.

532

4) /sic: 1)/ Mural designs. The designs painted on the bark
that makes up the walls of the houses do not reveal artistic taste
(48).

48. For example, the representation of human
figures with the disproportional and shapeless
trunk, the neck represented by a vertical stroke,
etc.

It is probable that what seems to us scrawling or caricature is the
stylization of legendary representations. Accepting this possibility,
however, one does not perceive any skill in the strokes. The
circumferences are made with perfection. Perhaps through the
influence of the civilized, they use a string for this, fixing one
of the ends and tying to the other a wooden point which will
leave a regular mark, like the point of a compass.

[192]
[386]

For the mural paintings, they use clay of different colors
(principally white, yellow, reddish, bluish), diluted in the latex
of Ôxtā-fimf (that is, the sorva, Couma utilis, Mell., and other
species), which, after having dried, acquires great stability and
resistance to the inclemencies and does not change colors.

/293 cont./

302
• 531 2) Designs on the body. They also execute various designs on the body. They might have their magic meaning, but they undoubtedly reveal an artistic tendency and, in some cases, are done with care and mastery (49).

49. We do not believe that painting on the body is an indication of a period of nomadism: "not having any place to execute their drawings, they did them on their own body." We venture the opinion, instead, that they have a decorative character (they are, thus, an indication of artistic tendency), besides supposing them endowed with magic powers (prophylactic virtues, etc.).

Notice 1st. -- The paintings do not bear clear totemic representations, unless it is only a matter of a stylization, the meaning of which the present-day natives seem not to know (50).

[532]

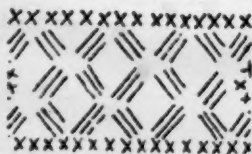
50. Koch Grünberg (Z.I. 349) found numerous anthropomorphic drawings and drawings of plants and animals, sometimes more or less stylized, among the Arwake of the Içana and the Wanana and Kubewana of the upper Uaupés. And he also states that figures the same as those on the bark walls and posts of the maloca appear, during the feasts, on the bodies of the Indians, as well as on their pots and dance objects. He moreover points out the sculpture of "attractive figures," anthropomorphic and of animals, not only in wood, but also executed in ears of maize and hung on the beams and posts of the maloca by means of a string.

/294/

* 192
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• 531

2nd. -- What is called Nô'ôé or face painting is semi-circles with the concave part upwards, on the forehead, and straight lines in a V on the side of the zygomata and on the face. Ordinarily, to execute these designs they use the Mumí-kha, that is, a small stick, like a lipstick, having on one of the tips a ball of wax to which adheres the colored powder, which is taken out of the small cuia in which it is kept and is applied to the face.

3rd. -- On the trunk and limb they execute various designs, We'é ohasé, all, however, consisting of straight lines. In some cases, at the great dances of the dabacurí, the whole body is painted as if it were a robe, with lengthwise and transverse strokes. The process for these paintings is that called We-oharí-tyá, that is, they take a small cylinder of a very light wood, called molongó (in Tucano Poó-gô; it is the ambelônia grandiflora, of the family of the Apocynaceae), with carvings corresponding to the lines that one wishes, and, while the color is fresh, they roll it against the skin where it leaves quite regular traces. They likewise use fine splints of



Design imprinted with the molongó cylinder

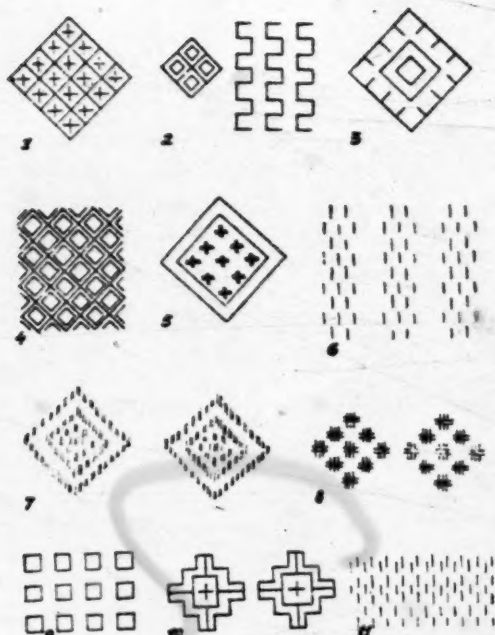
arumí, not infrequently two or three tied together as a paint brush, leaving a double or triple stroke. There are also coarse strokes executed with the index finger moistened in the color.

[184]

There are not, at present, marks that characterize the tribes, as the first explorers suggest. The same designs are observed in the various tribes.

/296/

*192
302
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1. Yôãsô paxkô sê'êma -- alligator's back (black); 2. Soxkô-rô ô:ri -- flower (design) of the grater (black and white); 3. Sê'râ -- pineapple (green and yellow); 4. Ahû-dôxkarí -- pieces of beijú (black and white); 5. Buwahá-ro -- cuia of cutia /agouti/ (green); 6. Neé ô:ri -- flower of the miriti (yellow); 7. Sirí-pia ô:ri -- flower (design) of the swallow (green and purple); 8. Uhuri sê'êma -- back of the land turtle (black and white); 9. Ô:ri mārí -- design without flowers (black and white); 10. Sakú dô'pô-ka -- leg of saracura /Rallidae/ (white and black); 11. Yôãsô sê'êma -- back of calango /small lizard/ (green).

3) Designs on objects.

The Baníva customarily execute designs on the camutins or pots, and the other tribes, on the cuias used, especially on the maracá. These are vegetable colors with a predominance of white, and the designs are always Greek frets. We have already mentioned the designs on the small stools that the Tukano make.

There are eight more common principal ornamental motifs that appear on the woven and plaited work of the hammocks and strainers:

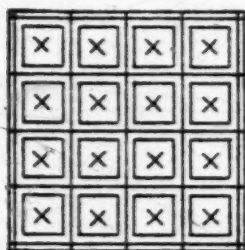
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[184]

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/297/

* 192
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• 531

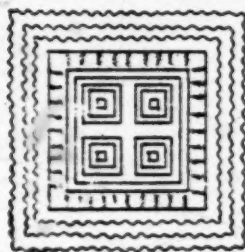
1. Soxkōrō-óri (flowers of the grater), that is, similar to the arrangement of the small stones in the graters.



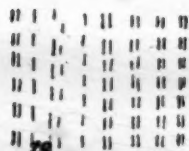
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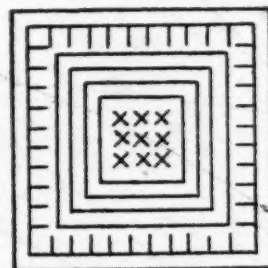
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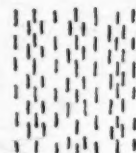
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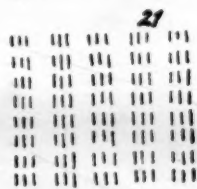
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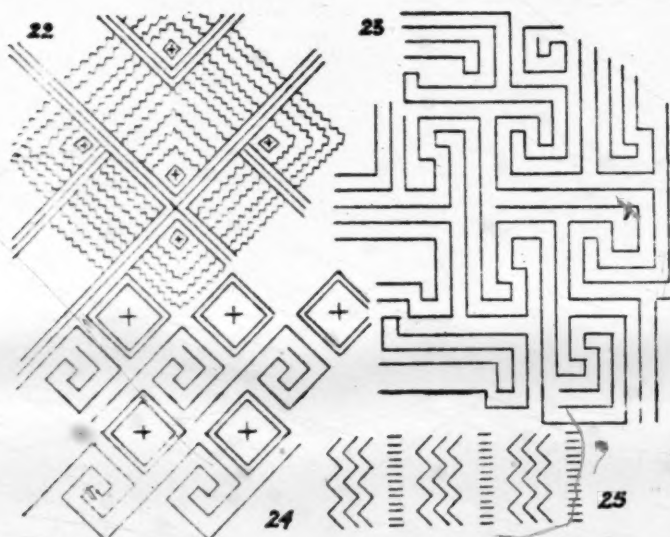
12. Yuxkō-dōxká -- fruit; 13. Mixpī-óri -- flower of the açaf / assai / (red and white); 14. Poxtá-da -- thorny branch; 15. Piā óri -- flower (design) of the piā (bird); 16. Piā óri -- flower (design) of the piā (bird); 17. Soxkō-sero -- surucucu (ophidian) (yellow); 18. Ā'rē-pūrī -- leaf of the pupunha tree (green); 19. Sē'ā ma'ā -- path of the piramirim (fish) (red and white); 20. Nixtiā óri -- flower (design of the spotted snake); 21. Dōxpōri-tērō sē'ēma -- back of the lambari / a fish / (white).

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2. Mixpĩ pũĩ (açai / assai/ leaves), designs like the leaves of the açai palm.
3. Byá-põrá ma'á (path of the saúva /leaf-cutting ant/)
4. Neé õori (flower of the miriti)
5. Yóãõ sē'ẽma (back of calango /small lizard/)
6. Pamõ sē'ẽma (back of tatu /armadillo/)
7. Dõxpõĩ-tẽõ sē'ẽma (back of lambari /a fish/)
8. Wãx-tĩ õx'sé-pekuri (knees of Wãx-tĩ), similar to the gammadioncross or swastika.

The Uaupés Indians take pleasure in combining these motifs and obtain numerous designs. By chance, in 24 strainers acquired by us in 1947 in different places on the Uaupés, there were 23 different combinations.



22. Oxsõ sē'ẽma -- back of the two-headed snake; 23. Wãx-tĩ õx'sé-pekuri -- knee of Wãx-tĩ; 24. Wãx-tĩ-ke-õ -- tipiti; 25. Bya-põrá -- path of the saúva /leaf-cutting ant/ (yellow).

/301 cont./

Uaupés (55) /sic; (57)/.

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55 /57/. During these past years some natives who came down to the Rio Negro for work became so enamored of the guitar that they heard there at the feasts of the caboclos that the possession of one of them constituted the dreamed-of fruit of their labor. And, upon returning to their povoados, they spend long hours of the day and the night strumming monotonously on the /this footnote is continued on the next page in the original source/ poor instrument. Perhaps for them the charm is not derived from the auditory pleasure which they experience as much as appearing, with this, more advanced or civilized than their other brothers. One also already sees some harmonica /Port. gaita/ or accordion or victrola among the alumni of the Mission.

Of the others, there are various instruments, all obviously of native origin.

/302/ a) Idiophones.

As rhythm instruments for the dances they have:

1st. -- Rhythm tube. In the Tukano idiom it is called ahũ-wõ, plural ahũ-pawõ. It is a cylinder of imbauba a meter long and 10 centimeters in diameter, hollow, with the lower end touching the ground, obstructed because it corresponds to the node. The upper one is open and ends with a rectangular extension by which it is held with the right hand. Each dancer takes his instrument, and they go all together, marking the rhythm of the step with a stroke against the ground. Frequently these instruments are painted with white, with the latex from the sorva, and with designs of Greek frets in red or black color.

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2nd. -- Rhythm stick. Sometimes the dancers carry in their right hand a simple stick, of any kind of wood, which in Tucano is called yuxkō, also for the purpose of marking the rhythm.

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3rd. -- Murucú. Murucú is the term from the Nheengatú language; in Tucano it is called yaígo, that is, "stick of the onça /jaguar/" (Gonçalves Dias calls them "murucús-maracás" (cf. "Relatório da Província do Amazonas," Vol. I, p. 760). It consists of a stick of brazilwood (mira-piranga) with beautiful paintings and adorned with colorful feathers, some 2 meters in length and about 3 centimeters in diameter, and the upper end in the shape of a fork. Almost in the center there is an intumescence with slits and, inside, some pebbles. Once the slits are made, the spot is exposed to the fire, and, after it is heated, they enlarge the intumescence and introduce the pebbles.

The tuxáua who presides at the dances holds it with the right hand and hits it against the biceps of the same arm, producing a noise like that of a rattle, while the whole stick starts to vibrate. It is used to mark the beginning of the dances.

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4th. -- Snappers. In Tucano they are called kixtyó and sound like castanets. They are small tucumã nuts, strung on a cord, which are tied to the right ankle in some dance numbers, in order for them to mark the rhythm.

5th. -- Maracá. In Tucano it is called yaxsã or yaxsã-ga; plural, yaxsã-pá. It is a rattle prepared with a calabash, in which /303/ an orifice was made in the lower part, through which were introduced some seeds or pebbles, and it is fitted with a handle of about 10 or 15 centimeters by which it is held and shaken. Some are painted with the common designs already seen. In some dance numbers all the men shake the maracá.

[755]

Besides this, it is a magic instrument, which the pajés use in their curing processes, and with which they also keep time during their therapeutic songs.

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/Illustrations facing p. 336 in the original source/

Waxsó-ro -- dance apron of the women (made of white and blue beads)

Waxtá i'i-ro -- comb made of paxiúba fragments



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Mandú, Wanana Tuxáua
from Caruru-Cachoeira
(river Uaupés), adorned for
the dances (acangatara, neck-
laces, and stone of the hus-
band /marido, "husband,"
should be mando, "command"/)

Rhythm tubes (ahū-pawō)

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CUBEO

42 THE CUBEO

342 cloth baskets, and calabash bowls in which the people keep their small
353 possessions. Most houses have a flooring above the main supporting
beams to provide storage space for farinha.

342 Malocas are commonly decorated. The front walls at the narrow
353 end are painted with representations of bark-cloth masks that are
531 used in funeral ceremonies, while the interior posts flanking the
532 dance floor receive geometric designs. The *Bahikiwa*, whose ancestry
[64] may have been that of the more primitive Macú, do not decorate
[184] their houses. The bark-cloth mask designs depict spirit beings, and
while their representations on house walls have no specific magical
function they do convey to householders the atmosphere of contact
with friendly beings. Similar representations are common as petro-
glyphs. The geometric designs on the house posts are similar to those
on dancing tubes, and portray simply an atmosphere of ceremonial
gaiety.

342 Ordinary cooking is done over the household hearth, and simple
252 meals are eaten around it. Manioc is prepared at the rear end of the
central corridor, where the women wait their turn to share the large
communal manioc oven, a circular ceramic plate on pottery supports,
[264] that has been provided by the headman's wife. Most evening meals
are eaten communally in the central corridor.

342 Allotment of space in the maloca follows no precise order of
554 status, but as a rule older and socially less active households occupy
the rear compartments near the kitchen area, while a headman pre-
fers a central location on either side.

342 At night a fire is kept going at the center of each compartment, and
354 on chilly nights the occupants vie for the comfort of the space just
[513] above the fire. The people sleep fitfully. Someone is always up to tend
[512] the fire and to crouch over it for extra warmth. The day begins several
hours before dawn and ends several hours after nightfall.

THE FACTOR OF CORESIDENCE

621 While community and sib are normally coextensive insofar as their
614 male occupants are concerned, there are, nevertheless, permanent
591 male residents of alien sibs in many communities. Widows, for ex-
[78] ample, return to the parental community with their children. There
are some cases of matrilocal residence as well. These exceptional but
not rare cases provide information on the role of coresidence in regu-
lating social behavior. The question of coresidence is of special in-
terest in the Northwest Amazon region because among tribes that do
not have sibs but are organized on the basis of patrilocal families it is

tears the skin, and where a clumsy move shakes down hordes of stinging ants, or the canoe has to be pushed through narrowly spaced trees. Sometimes the canoe is portaged across a hilllock. The forest passage is made with light, quiet strokes in keeping with the silence Indians observe in the forest.

Canoes range in size from a one-man capacity to up to one ton. Each man makes a personal fishing canoe. Some prefer a four-man capacity, but the small one-man canoe is most popular. Every community has at least one large cargo canoe with a capacity ranging from a half to a whole ton. Usually made by the headman, it is for the use of all, for long trips, for transporting cargo such as farinha or palm leaves for roofing, and is the festive canoe that transports women and children to drinking parties. The headman is the owner but the canoe is taken freely by sibmen. Paddles are individually owned and are kept in the house, never in the canoe, but are freely borrowed.

Women do not own canoes, a canoe belonging always to its maker, but women have use of the large canoe. They do little unaccompanied traveling. I have rarely seen a woman alone in a canoe; she is accompanied at least by a child. A woman in a canoe alone is suspected of running away or of a rendezvous with a lover. Women walk great distances, but a man is ashamed to walk if he can go by water. A man who does not own a canoe is regarded as lazy and inept, and some boys who have never learned to make a canoe are scorned by the girls and find it difficult to marry.

Canoes don't last long. Unless properly seasoned, the wood is cracked by the sun, and such canoes split quickly. Short splits are calked with pitch, stuffed with a rag, or smeared with clay. I have been in canoes that required constant bailing; but as a rule an old canoe is left at the canoe landing house for the children to play in. Finally it is sunk in shallow water at the canoe landing, where it serves as a receptacle for manioc set to soften. Good canoes are brought into the house and are used as chicha containers during a drinking party. On the Cuduiari, Koch-Grünberg saw canoes ornamented on the inside with painted designs, as well as paddles with painted motifs on the blades (1909, II, 89). By 1939 such embellishments had disappeared.

The Cubeo are careless in mooring canoes, and they float away but are always recovered. No canoes have ever been reported as stolen. A week may pass before an owner of a lost canoe goes to look for it. He waits until he needs it, for there is never any doubt that he will

/p. 54-B/

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LEFT: The front, painted with a design in charcoal and clay, and great eaves of a maloca. RIGHT: Cutting palm fronds to thatch the roof.

Ni

weeks to carve into the hard rock. It is possible that some in the past represented boundary marks. The Indians do not appear to recognize territorial areas within the forest, but they may have rights to fish over certain sections of the rivers.

It is unlikely that the engravings can be ascribed to any one period and there seemed little resemblance to contemporary Indian art. Certainly Tukano design is mostly limited to triangles and crosses, and relies more on colour than form. The most striking example we saw was the *Tatuya maloca* on the Piraparaná, the bark front wall of which was covered with a series of cross, square and triangle designs coloured with brown, yellow and white river clays and a black charcoal compound. But this is by far the most dramatic example of Tukano art, with the possible exception of the elaborate body painting and the magnificent head-dresses used during the festivals. Their pottery, though finely made, bears no design, except for a pot containing the narcotic *yajé*, used only by the elders during certain festivals and curing sessions. This is covered with different coloured clays, charcoal and red *karayuru* dye. Similar triangular coloured designs are also found on the *yarumo* dancing-staves.

The most common type of engraving is the fretted design on the gourd maracas used during tribal dances. One end of the pebble stave, a lance-like rattle used by the shaman, is also carved with lines and triangles together with a pattern of bird feathers, said to give it greater magical power. This stave and a drinking gourd with an elaborate circular design of triangles, loops and chevrons, we tried to obtain for our collection, but without success. Certain articles were so highly regarded by the Indians that they would not part with them, no matter what they were offered in exchange.

Of all the rock engravings we saw, that of Ni the river god (see drawing on p. 31) was by far the most striking. Travelling on from Kaperwa, we came to an unusually long set of rapids through which we guided the boat with our paddles. We were concentrating so hard on the rapids and the water swirling around the boat, that the unexpected sight of a pyramid of rock jutting massively out of the river in front came as rather a shock. Even more unexpected was the grotesque figure cut deeply into the granite face of the giant boulder. With arms and legs outstretched he seemed to dominate the river, to embrace it with a hypnotic spell.

Unlike the other carvings we saw, Ni was engraved in granite. The finely-drawn lines, carved half an inch deep, gave symmetry to the life-size figure which must have taken an Indian craftsman months of labour to create. Our own steel knives were easily blunted by the hard crystalline rock.

Ni faced upstream into the setting sun. Behind, on the east slope of the rock, were suns and a quarter-moon. The suns, some with emanating rays, were composed of a series of three or four concentric rings up to two feet in diameter.